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# ABORIGINES OF SOUTH DAKOTA.

## PART II.

The Mandan Indians are the subject of this second part of the treatment of the Aborigines of South Dakota, as were the Aricaras or Rees of Part I. In closing the present paper, however, some recurrence will be had to the Rees in connection with their ancient habitat on the Missouri in South Dakota and further south, as indicated by some evidences which have come to light since the first paper was published.

The Mandan Indians, "People of the Pheasants," or "People of the East," as they have termed themselves, or "Bearded Whites," as they were called by some French Canadians who first heard of and came among them, have been regarded by the explorers and chroniclers who have visited and made a study of them, as aborigines possessing some peculiarities and some excellencies which distinguish them from Indians of America in general to a degree which has aroused special curiosity and unusual speculation as to their ancestry and origin.

Any attempt to trace an Indian tribe back to a basic point at which the beginnings of a race in the human families of remote antiquity are discoverable, inevitably results in mystery or confusion, or both. And while this statement is and must be predicated upon the past in research and the philosophies which have grown up with or out of it, the present seems to promise, in definite results, but little hope of rescuing from the realm of myth the farther ends of the threads of history. Yet we believe the future is not wholly devoid of hope in that direction.

Nor are we able to declare that the foregoing observations do not apply with equal force to the Mandans, as to other Indians of America. But we shall bring into this paper toward its end some narratives, affirmations and some conclusions on the part of

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131 174 boine guides; that November 20th he left that village to go 17 leagues, where the meeting place of the Mandans had been chosen, at which point he arrived November 28th; that on the evening of November 30th he continued on toward the first Mandan fort, at about seven leagues from which he lost some papers; that the Indian "orator" there said: "We must leave before four o'clock in the morning in order to arrive early at the fort;" that at noon next day at one and one-half leagues, near a small river (the Mouse?) they rested two hours, where a number of Mandans had come to meet them; that Verendrye was carried thence by the Indians to a point "four acres from the fort," where "the old men" were waiting; that after firing a salute to the fort he marched to and entered it December 3rd, 1738, at four p. m. He had thus spent fifty-two days in going from his "fort" on the Assiniboine to what must have been not far from the neighborhood of Washburn, N. D., 43 miles above Bismarck, or from Coal Harbor, some 25 miles northwest of Washburn, during which journey much time was lost on the detour above mentioned, "so that we took forty-six days to go a distance we should have done easily in sixteen or twenty days at the most." The distance from his fort on the Assiniboine to the first Mandan fort can probably be roughly estimated at about 400 miles by a substantially direct route; and on that basis Verendrye's estimate of sixteen days' travel would be 25 miles per day.

In Neill's account of the Verendrye expedition to the Rocky mountains in 1742 he states that the explorer reached the "country of the Mantanes" by "ascending the Assiniboine, and by the present trail to Mouse river." (Contributions to Historical Society of Montana, Vol. 1, p. 307.) From which it would appear that a thoroughfare overland from the Assiniboine to the Missouri existed anciently as the usual mode of passing over the divide between the basin of Lake Winnepeg and the Missouri valley.

In a note by Neill to the above observation he says:

131 101 174 "The Mandans, or White Beards, of the Dakotah family are noted for being gray-haired. Sometimes children six years of age have this appearance. They were nearly destroyed by smallpox in 1837, and in 1874 they lived near the Aricaras and Gros Ventres, in the vicinity of Fort Berthold, on the Missouri. For-

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merly all dwelt in mud cabins, surrounded by ditches. A few yet live in dirt lodges." This account was published in 1876.

In another note by Neill in connection with his account of Verendrye's expedition to the mountains, and explanatory of the text, it is stated: "Father Coquard, who had been associated with Verendrye, says that they first met the Mantanes, and next the Brochets. After these were the Gros Ventres," etc. His note explains that the Brochets, or Fish tribe, may perhaps be the Assiniboines. That the Gros Ventres "are said to have formerly lived on the Assiniboine and Red rivers." He then quotes from a report made by Governor Ramsey, of Minnesota, made in 1850 to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to this effect: "The chief of the Red Lake Chippewas of Minnesota some years ago met a village of Gros Ventres toward the sources of the Missouri. They learned that the smoke of the Gros Ventres lodges once arose at Sandy Lake, and that they had a large village of earthen houses at mouth of the Savanna river, which empties into the St. Louis." This would indicate that the Gros Ventres once inhabited the country bordering on the west end of Lake Superior, and by comparing what is said in these Neill notes concerning their residence on the Red and Assiniboine, with the reference to their habitat near the St. Louis river, we may find warrant for observing that the traditions about the Mandans having lived northward and eastward of the Missouri river country, where they were first found by white men, may really have become confused with the Gros Ventres traditions—the latter having joined the Mandans prior to white exploration of those regions.

Then Neill in his account of the Verendrye expedition of 1742 thus refers to Bougainville's version of that expedition and the route taken by quoting him as follows: "He went from Fort La Reine to the Missouri. He met, on the banks of this river, the Mandans, or White Beards, who had seven villages, with fine stockades, strengthened by a ditch. Next to these were the Kinongewiniris, or the Brochets (Assiniboines), in three villages; and toward the upper part of the river were three villages of the Mahantas." These Mahantas were by Neill understood as being the Mahas, or Omahas. And Bougainville adds, after referring to the Mahantas: "All along to the north of the Wabiek or Shell river were situated twenty-three villages of the Panis." Neill in his note says this: "Shell" may mean the Musselshell river

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131 of modern maps. He then says regarding the Panis: "The
●101 Pawnees on De L'Isle's map, are marked on the Missouri, and
174 on Panis, now Platte river. Jeffreys on his map marks a tribe west of Lake Winnipeg, called 'Cris Panis Blanc.' Drake speaks of White Pawnees, Freckled Pawnees and Pawnees of the Platte. They now number about eighteen hundred and dwell on a reservation on a branch of the Platte in Nebraska." (They had gone south from that reservation at or about the time of publication of Neill's account—1876).

From Bougainville's account Neill finds him stating: "Opposite the Mandans are the Ospekakaernousques, or Flatheads, four villages; opposite the Panis are the Arcs, or Knisteneaux, and Utasiaoutchactas, or Assiniboel, three villages." (Id., pp. 312-13-14.)

The summary of evidences as to the course pursued by La Verendrye on his expedition to the mountains in 1742-3, as found in the said Historical Society Contributions, is as follows as regards the Mandans:

"Starting from Fort La Reine, on the Assiniboine river, they went up the Mouse river in a southerly direction, and then crossed over to the Missouri a little below where is now Fort Berthold. They then ascended the Missouri," etc. (Id., p. 316.)

From Bougainville's Memoirs on the State of New France, 1757, the following extract is taken and published by Brower in his "Missouri River:"

"Voyage de la Verendrye. The one who most forwarded this discovery is the Sieur de la Verenderie; from the Fort de la Reine he reached the Missouri; he met first of all upon this river the Mandannes or Blancs Barbus (Bearded Whites) to the number of seven villages fortified by terraced stockades with a ditch; next the Kinongewiniris, or the Brochets (Pikes, i. e., fish) to the number of three villages; in the upper part of the river he found the Mahantas making also three villages; and along the Missouri, in descending it to the mouth of the river Wabiek, or Shell (Coquille) twenty-three villages of Panis." (P. 65.) "Opposite the Panis are the Gens de l'Arc (People of the Bow), Atchapeivinioques in Cristinaux and Utasibaoutchactas in Assibinboels, three villages." (Id. p. 65.)

131 **Where Lewis and Clarke Found Them.** Lewis and Clarke, in
174 their expedition of 1804, are the first visitors to the Mandan vil-

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his drawings of the lodges of the Aricaras at their village near the mouth of Grand river, and which he merely passed by on the river when he visited the Mandans in 1833, in which connection he states that the lodges of both of those tribes were substantially identical in form and general construction, which is true. His point of observation having been the deck of the steamer, which in its progress up or down the river was, of course, at some distance from the Aricara village which he sketched, he failed to observe that the outer surface of the lodge, below the line where the lower part of the roof joined the sides, was not a curved surface, nor in strictly circular form, but that it was formed of many planes, each of which stood at an angle with the two others joining it, and that instead of the floor surface of the lodge being a circle it was in the form of an ellipse. He also considerably overestimated the height of the lodge in his drawings. These defects in his observations have been remarked upon by many subsequent writers and by some whose personal observations of both Mandan and Aricara lodges enable them to speak with authority. This point will be brought out in some quotations from later observers found in this paper. He also wholly failed to observe another vital feature of the Mandan lodges, and which it is somewhat strange that he overlooked, viz., the covered entrance to the lodge, some ten feet long by about four feet wide and some seven feet high.

Nor will we dwell longer upon any phase of the Mandans by way of preliminary, but will proceed now to bring into the account a few quotations embodying the conclusions of some of the authoritative publications upon the Mandans, followed by the narratives of the various visitors and observers already referred to, in chronological order, with occasional comments by the way.

From the "Handbook of American Indians," published by the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1907, we glean the following:

**Mandan. A Siouan Tribe of the Northwest.** The name, according to Maximilian, originally given by the Sioux, is believed by Matthews to be a corruption of the Dakota Mawatani. Previous to 1830 they called themselves simply Numakiki, "people" (Matthews). Maximilian says: "If they wish to particularize their descent they add the name of the village whence they came originally."

Hayden gives Miahtanes, "people on the bank," as the name

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● 101 they apply to themselves, and draws from this the inference that "they must have resided on the banks of the Missouri in a very remote period." According to Morgan (Syst. Consang. and Affin., 285), the native name of the tribe is Metootahak, "South Villagers." Their relations so far as known historically and traditionally have been most intimate with the Hidatsa; yet, judged by the linguistic test, their position must be nearer the Winnebago. Matthews appears to consider the Hidatsa and Mandan descendants from the same immediate stem. Their traditions regarding their early history are scant and almost entirely mythological. All that can be gathered from them is the indication that at some time they lived in a more easterly locality in the vicinity of a lake. This tradition, often repeated by subsequent authors, is given by Lewis and Clarke.

These references to the east and south in the Mandan traditions are encountered by those who have been among them, and they are to be found in narratives based upon the authorities or upon the personal experiences of visitors, who are quoted by some who have heard the accounts from them; and it will be seen in what follows from "Indian Sign Language," by W. P. Clark (Phila., L. R. Hamersly & Co., 1885) that according to one of his authorities the reference to "people of the east" is interpreted to mean "the position they first occupied in the village." This is in keeping with a similar reference to one of the Dakota tribes—the Ihanktonwans, or Yanktons, meaning "village at the end," and of the Ihanktonwannas, or Yanktonais, meaning the "end village." All of which tends to indicate that not the American continent, but mere location in a group of Indian villages, may account for some legend-phrases supposed by many to prove a habitat in some remote part of North America. It will be seen also that Clark brings in some evidences of habitation of the Mandans to northward of the upper Missouri. We quote his summary on the Mandans, to-wit:

304 **Tribal Sign—Tattooing.** Mandan. Conception: Tattooing chin and lower sides of the face. These Indians are usually indicated by the same sign as that made for the Arickarees; but the proper tribal sign is to partially compress the right hand, bring tip of thumb near tips of fingers and tap the chin and lower part of the face several times with tips of the thumb and fingers. "I was told by Mr. Girard that tattooing was practiced when he

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smallpox in 1837, after which, for a time, they occupied only one village. In 1845, when the Hidatsa moved away from Knife river, some of the Mandans went with them, and others followed at different times afterwards. For a short time, it appears that a few Mandan families occupied the old Amahami village. We have an account of some moving up to the village at Fort Berthold as late as 1858, and of others still remaining at the mouth of Knife river at the same time.

"The word Mandan seems to be a corruption of the Dakota name Matani or Mawatani. Previous to 1837, they called themselves simply Numakaki, i. e., People, Men. They sometimes spoke of themselves and the Minnetarees together as Nuweta, **Ourselves.** A large band of their tribe was called Siposka-Numakaki, **Prairie-Hen People,** or Grouse Men. This name, Mr. Catlin, in his first work, renders, 'People of the Pheasants,' and in his last work, presents in the shape of 'Nu-mah-ka-kee (pheasants),' and then, from this translation, leaves us to draw the 'important inference' that the Mandans once lived in the Ohio valley. They now often call themselves Metutahanke, after their old village below Knife river." (p. 13[illegible])

Matthews, in mentioning the earlier visitors of the Mandans, speaks in high commendation of the accounts of Maximilian:

**Tribute to Maximilian.** "Captains Lewis and Clarke, Mr. Catline, the Prince of Neuwied, and Dr. Hayden have written very full accounts of this tribe, and all but the first named explorers present vocabularies of their language. The work of Prince Maximilian contains the most accurate and extensive information regarding their customs and manners. Notwithstanding the great changes in the tribe since 1834, the majority of his notes might be used without alteration in describing the Mandans of today. In a few cases, however, I believe that the deductions which he drew from his observations were incorrect." (p. 14-15.)

**Population—Official Reports—Errors.** "The population of the village is not known. It is said that the inhabitants of some of the old villages allowed a census to be taken immediately before the epidemic which proved so fatal to them. They believed that their calamity resulted from the census, and have since resisted all efforts to ascertain their numbers. Many ingenious plans have been devised for counting them without their knowledge, but

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for two small villages to combine in one at the new location. Owing to the immense difficulty of cutting timbers with their crude stone axes, in making these changes of residence they undoubtedly carried with them the timbers of the abandoned huts and used them in rebuilding, wherever possible. The Indians left Knife river because of the scarcity of timber and the attacks of the Sioux. When the trading post of Fort Berthold—so called in honor of Bartholomew Berthold, a fur trader of St. Louis—was established, about 1844 or 1845, the Indians 'drew the logs (of which it was built) with lariats of rawhide over their shoulders.'" (p. 223.)

**Lodge Ruins.** "The dirt mounds, ruins of their former homes, have often been mistaken for the ancient burial grounds of these tribes, which is not surprising unless one has studied the history of this interesting people. About ten miles above Bismarck one of the best of these collections of mounds is found, on a bluff overlooking one of the most beautiful stretches of the Missouri, just below Square Butte. There are eighteen or twenty of the mounds, most of them well-defined, and generally more or less circular in their form. They form a semi-circle arc, with the river as a chord, and are now more or less merged together into an irregular ridge. These mounds have been dug over and over, yet I was able to find among them many shards and arrow-points and knives when I visted them." (pp. 5-6.)

**Lower Village.** "The Mandans call themselves Metutahanke, **the Lower Village,** as Dr. Matthews gives it, or Miti-Untanhanke, **the Village on the East,** as it was given to, and partially written for me by Mrs. Baker, both referring to the same village, the one called Ma-too-ton-ha by Lewis and Clarke. Maximilian calls this village Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, and these different readings of the same word well indicate the difficulties experienced in obtaining correct Indian vocabularies."

**Farmers.** "These people have always been farmers, and both men and women have for years, now, shared the labors of the field. In early days they raised corn, tobacco, squashes, beans, the wild sunflower, etc., and now they grow, in addition, potatoes, turnips, and various vegetables. The Aricaree seem to be the best farmers. Each tribe now raises cattle and horses, but they do not seem to grasp the idea that cattle raising, if attended to

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

# INTRODUCTION

THE Mandan are a small Siouan-speaking tribe who in 1910 numbered 197, according to the government census. In 1929 the writer collected data on lodge groups at Fishhook Village for the period 1870–72 from the information of a number of older Mandan and found that they considered forty-three households with a population of three hundred and nineteen as Mandan. Of this number, some of the individuals were Arikara, Hidatsa, and even Crow. Nevertheless, the household was considered to be Mandan because of the participation of the individuals of the household in the social and ceremonial life of the Mandan.

This study of the social and ceremonial life of the Mandan was made during a six-month visit to the Fort Berthold Reservation in 1930 and 1931. The census of lodge groups at the last village of Fishhook for both the Mandan and the Hidatsa was prepared from the data supplied by several of the older informants. Pertinent information on sacred bundles owned and offices filled by the various individuals was recorded. Genealogies were prepared from the data obtained from the census and the inheritance of bundle and other ceremonial rights. This preliminary study, made by the writer in 1929 for Beloit College and under the immediate supervision of Dr. George L. Collie, indicated that much of the aboriginal culture could be reconstructed. The Logan Museum of Beloit College conducted archeological studies of documented Mandan village sites during the period when this study was made, and native informants were especially helpful in identifying numerous traditional sites and interpreting archeological data.

While preparing the census and genealogies of the Mandan, no especial effort was made to record sacred rites. Informants offered little resistance to the recording of data on the possession of these bundles or the order of their inheritance. When the recording of the sacred myths and rites was undertaken, the writer was acquainted with all his informants. Tom Smith, who

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17



other than the Awatixa site at the mouth of Knife River show long occupation; this substantiates native traditions that the Awatixa lived longest on the Missouri and that the Hidatsa and Awaxawi were last to arrive.

The archeological evidence collaborates traditions of both the Mandan and the Hidatsa groups relative to migrations and period of residence on the Missouri. The Mandan were first to move onto the Missouri and establish villages. On this earliest cultural horizon, those farthest north had rectangular semi-subterranean lodges and pottery that was decorated with impressed cord. The southern groups built small circular earth lodges; their pottery was lighter in color and was decorated predominantly with incised bodies and rims. As the southern groups moved northward to join the northern groups, each group borrowed from the other. The northern groups adopted the circular earth lodge and incised pottery, while the southern groups adopted the open circle, rectangular lodge for ceremonial purposes, and pottery with cord-impressed decorations and grooved-paddle impressed bodies. By A.D. 1600 the entire Mandan population was living at or above the Heart River, having abandoned the Missouri to the south to the nomadic groups.

During the century 1600–1700, group after group of Hidatsa and Crow moved westward and occupied sections of the Missouri and its tributaries. According to native traditions, which can be verified by the depth of refuse accumulation at Awatixa village site at the mouth of Knife River, this village group was first to reach the Missouri. At this time the Awatixa were united with the Crow, who separated at the Missouri, those who remained agricultural and settled at the mouth of Knife River being known as the Awatixa and the nomadic group who moved westward onto the Little Missouri being known as Crow. This migration was followed by the Awaxawi a short time later. They came as agriculturalists and settled below the mouth of Knife River at Painted Woods, where the southern Mandan had built after leaving the Grand River. The last migration of Hidatsa and Crow followed a number of years later. According to the traditions of both the Mandan and the Hidatsa groups, this last migration was of a nomadic peoples who had lived northeastward of Devils Lake. This group occupied the territory up-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17



stream from the Knife River, where they separated after quarreling over the division of a buffalo. Those who moved farther upstream along the Missouri and Yellowstone became the "Paunch" Indians, while those who remained near the other Hidatsa villages were known as the Hidatsa.

By 1700 the entire section of the Missouri from the Cannonball to the mouth of the Yellowstone was occupied by groups of Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow of the "Paunch" band. The greatest concentration of villages was near the mouth of Heart River. These large earth-lodge villages were occupied by Mandan of the Nuptadi and Nuitadi bands and were situated on both banks of the Missouri. Agriculture was intensively practiced by these groups. Farther upstream at the Painted Woods, the Awigaxa band of Mandan and the Awaxawi band of Hidatsa had villages. The Awatixa band of Hidatsa were on the south bank of Knife River. Agriculture was practiced by all these groups. North of Knife River were the less agricultural Hidatsa, who sometimes came to the north bank of Knife River to occupy their large earth-lodge village and to plant corn. Generally they were farther upstream, on the Mouse River, or in the Turtle Mountains, living as nomadic hunters. Immediately to the west of the more nomadic Hidatsa were the nomadic Crow. These groups had prescribed territories and lived peacefully together so long as one group did not infringe on the territorial rights of the others. These groups moved little until the close of the eighteenth century, when the aboriginal population was sharply reduced by smallpox and other epidemics. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the region below the Cannonball was occupied by nomadic groups who were in part replaced by the Arikara after 1725 when they began their northward migration which did not terminate until 1862, at which time they united with the survivors of the Mandan and Hidatsa villages at Fishhook Village.

In another report the writer has analyzed the ceremonial organizations of the various village groups of Mandan and Hidatsa, using genealogies, historic accounts of travelers, and native traditions and has shown that two distinct inheritance patterns existed: (1) the Mandan pattern of inheritance of principal bundles and rites within the clan and (2) the Hidatsa and

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
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According to Calf-woman, the Prairie-chicken clan is the most important on the Reservation. This is consistent with Mr. Curtis's data, according to which the larger moiety bears the name of this clan, corresponding preëminence being assigned to the tami'sik in the Three-clan moiety. It should be noted that the Prairie-chicken clan is the only one common to the Hidatsa and Mandan series.

Calf-woman's ŏ'rɛ' 'kūpa (nitɛ) was given by Turtle-woman not as the designation of a clan but of all the seven clans jointly in addressing the entire tribe.

Mr. Curtis states that the marriage of fellow-clansmen was considered improper and publicly ridiculed, but according to my witnesses this rule has long ceased to be absolute. Thus, Calf-woman declared that sometimes people married within their own clan, though there were some who regarded this as wrong; and Two-chiefs, a maxi' 'kina married to a xtaxta', cited the case of her husband's mother who had married another xtaxta', not related by blood.

## Kinship Terms.

A brief but in most respects accurate statement as to Mandan kinship nomenclature is made by Maximilian.[1] Recently Mr. Curtis has summarily characterised the Mandan terminology as largely influenced by the clan factor, the father's brother and his clansmen being classed with the father, the father's clanswomen with the father's sister, all mates in one's clan with brothers and all females as mothers.[2] This statement is undoubtedly in large measure correct, but, the last part is manifestly not to be taken literally since the mother's mother and her generation and the sisters are certainly not called "mother." Morgan already had to contend with the difficulty of finding interpreters fully conversant with Mandan and offers an avowedly imperfect list. So far as essentials are concerned, he correctly characterises the system as of the usual classificatory type. The most important deviation from the norm mentioned in his résumé consists in the classification of the father's sister with the mother in feminine parlance, a distinctive word for paternal aunt being used only by males.[3] My data yield no confirmation of this peculiarity. A remarkable feature found by Morgan among the Hidatsa and Crow but not noted by him among the Mandan, though recorded both by Mr. Curtis and myself, is the confusion of generations in the designation of the father's sister's female descendants

[1] Maximilian, II, 122, 543.
[2] Curtis, V, 145.
[3] Morgan, (a), 184.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

# CHAPTER XXV.

## ACCOUNT OF THE MANDAN INDIANS.

000 In communicating the information contained in the following chapters, in which I mean to treat especially of some tribes of the aborigines of North America, I shall take it for granted that the reader is acquainted with the interesting and important particulars which have been given us by Messrs. Edwin James, T. Say, and Schoolcraft. Dr. E. James speaks especially of the origin of the North American Indians, of their near affinity to each other; of the recently broached hypothesis of their descent from the Israelites, which he proves to be groundless, and which is contradicted by the bodily conformation of the Indians, and also of the injudicious and unjust treatment which they suffer from the Anglo-Americans. According to him many of the Indian nations would long since have been converted to the Christian religion, and have settled in fixed abodes, like the Cherokees, &c., if the earlier missionaries had better understood the work on which they were sent. It is notorious that this subject was treated, in early times, with the most unwarrantable want of discretion, and positive ignorance; that the greatest injustice was exercised towards the Indian population, and that, even now, wrongs untold are heaped on this much to-be pitied and oppressed race. A large portion of those nations has entirely disappeared, and the accounts which have been preserved of them are extremely imperfect; others are expelled from their native seats, mixed together in small fragments of various tribes, half degenerated, and consequently now affording but little that can interest the inquirer. Such were the Indians whom Volney saw: only to the west and north-west of the Mississippi may the Indians be yet found in their original state. Before, however, I speak of them in general, I will describe more in detail a small tribe which has hitherto been very imperfectly known.

101 The Mandans (called by the Canadians, les Mandals), by which name these Indians are generally known, though it was originally given them by the Sioux, were formerly a numerous people, who, according to the narrative of an aged man, lately deceased, inhabited thirteen, and

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NO17 Mandan NO17



perhaps more, villages. They call themselves Numangkake (*i. e.*, men), and if they wish to particularise their descent, they add the name of the village whence they came originally. Some, for instance, call themselves Sipuske-Numangkake, the men of the pheasant or prairie hens, from the village Sipuska-Mihte, pheasant village; others, Mato-Numangkake, the men of the bear, from the village Mato-Mihte, bear village, &c. &c. Another general name of this people is Mahna-Narra, the sulky, because they separated from the rest of their nation, and went higher up the Missouri.

The early history of the Mandans is involved in obscurity; their own traditions and legends will be discussed in the sequel, when treating on their religious ideas. They affirm that they descend originally from the more eastern nations, near the sea-coast.* Though the above-named villages do not all exist at this time, these Indians still call themselves by their several names. They formerly dwelt near the Heart River: when Charbonneau arrived here at the end of the last century, the two Mandan villages, which are still standing, were about six or eight miles further down the Missouri. The small-pox and the assaults of their enemies have so reduced this people, that the whole number now reside in two villages, in the vicinity of Fort Clarke. These two villages are Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush (the southern village), about 300 paces above Fort Clarke, and on the same side of the river, and Ruhptare,† about three miles higher up, likewise on the same bank. The first had, at the time of our visit, sixty-five huts, and contained about 150 warriors; the other, thirty-eight huts and eighty-three warriors. According to this, the tribe had not more than 230 or 240 warriors; and, on the whole, scarcely 900 or 1000 souls; Dr.

* Warden is mistaken when he says (Vol. III. p. 559), that the Mandans are descended from the Crows; for this is applicable to the Manitaries, of whom we shall speak afterward.

† Lewis and Clarke write this name Roeptahee, which is incorrect. (See Account of their Journey, Vol. I. p. 120.) These celebrated travellers passed the winter among the Mandans, and give many particulars respecting them, which, on the whole, are correct; but their proper names and words from the Minitari and Manitari languages are, in general, inaccurately understood and written. It is said, they derived their information from a person named Jessaume, who spoke the language very imperfectly, as we were assured everywhere on the Missouri. Of this kind are many of the names mentioned by those travellers, which neither the Indians nor the Whites were able to understand; for instance, Ahnahaways (Vol. I. p. 115), a people who are said to have formerly dwelt between the Mandans and the Manitaries; likewise Mahowha, where the Arwacahwas lived (*ibid.*); the fourth village is said to have been called Menharta, and to have been inhabited by Manitaries (*ibid.*); of all these names, except, perhaps, Mahowha, which ought probably to be Machahe, nobody could give us the slightest information, not even Charbonneau, though he has lived here so many years. It is necessary to be much on your guard against bad interpreters, and I acted in this respect with much caution. All the information given by me, respecting Indian words and names, was carefully written down from the statements of sensible, well-informed men of these nations. I have endeavoured to write down their language exactly, according to its real pronunciation, in doing which, the German guttural sounds were of great assistance to me, as it is that of the Missouri Indians. Mr. Kipp and Charbonneau, with some others who have lived long among these Indians, daily assisted me, during a long winter, with much patience and kindness, in this work.

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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## LETTER—No. 11.

### MANDAN VILLAGE, *UPPER MISSOURI.*

I said that I was here in the midst of a strange people, which is literally true; and I find myself surrounded by subjects and scenes worthy the pens of Irving or Cooper—of the pencils of Raphael or Hogarth; rich in legends and romances, which would require no aid of the imagination for a book or a picture.

The Mandans (or See-pohs-kah-nu-mah-kah-kee, "people of the pheasants," as they call themselves), are perhaps one of the most ancient tribes of Indians in our country. Their origin, like that of all the other tribes is from necessity, involved in mystery and obscurity. Their traditions and peculiarities I shall casually recite in this or future epistles; which when understood, will at once, I think, denominate them a peculiar and distinct race. They take great pride in relating their traditions, with regard to their origin; contending that they were the *first* people created on earth. Their existence in these regions has not been from a very ancient period; and, from what I could learn of their traditions, they have, at a former period, been a very numerous and powerful nation; but by the continual wars which have existed between them and their neighbours, they have been reduced to their present numbers.

This tribe is at present located on the west bank of the Missouri, about 1800 miles above St. Louis, and 200 below the Mouth of Yellow Stone river. They have two villages only, which are about two miles distant from each other; and number in all (as near as I can learn), about 2000 souls. Their present villages are beautifully located, and judiciously also, for defence against the assaults of their enemies. The site of the lower (or principal) town, in particular (PLATE 45), is one of the most beautiful and pleasing that can be seen in the world, and even more beautiful than imagination could ever create. In the very midst of an extensive valley (embraced within a thousand graceful swells and parapets or mounds of interminable green, changing to blue, as they vanish in distance) is built the city, or principal town of the Mandans. On an extensive plain (which is covered with a green turf, as well as the hills and dales, as far as the eye can possibly range, without tree or bush to be seen) are to be seen rising from the ground, and towards the heavens, domes—(not "of gold," but)

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

# *Two Processes of Change in Mandan-Hidatsa Kinship Terminology**

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## INTRODUCTION

WE ALREADY have some understanding of the progressive stages in the breakdown of a Crow type kinship system under conditions of social change (Spoehr 1947; Eggan 1950), but we lack sufficient information on the actual processes and interactions involved in the shift from one basic kinship type to another. This paper deals with processes of kinship change in one village of Mandan-Hidatsa Indians living on the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota.

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Mandan and Hidatsa are both small Siouan-speaking tribes with a long history of residence in the Missouri River Valley. Although the Mandan and Hidatsa had different origins, spoke mutually unintelligible languages, and lived in separate villages, they have been in intimate and peaceful association for over two hundred years, with constant cultural borrowings and intermarriage. For the problem to be dealt with here, we may consider the two tribes as one.

Both groups were part of the Prairie earth lodge complex, which included the Chiwere and Dhegiha Sioux and the Caddoan tribes and covered the area encompassed by the Arkansas and Missouri River valleys. A dual subsistence economy of agriculture and hunting was adjusted to an abundant ecological setting in the fertile creek and river bottom lands. Each tribe was composed of a number of independent villages integrated by social and ceremonial ties. The characteristic dwelling was the earth lodge, occupied by matrilocal extended families. The social structure of the Mandan-Hidatsa included a clan and moiety system, matrilineal lineages, an elaborate set of societies, and a Crow type kinship system.

In the early nineteenth century, the two tribes were severely reduced in population by a series of smallpox epidemics. By 1862, the remnants of the Mandan-Hidatsa had consolidated with the Arikara in one village for mutual defense against hostile nomads. With the Indian Bureau allotment program in the last decade of the nineteenth century, the people of the village were scattered into a number of separate and smaller communities on the Fort Berthold Reservation. A group of Mandan and Hidatsa families established

* An abbreviated version of this paper was read at the 52nd Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association held at Tucson, Arizona, Dec. 28–30, 1953. I am indebted to the Social Science Research Council and the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago for financial support of field work. Fred Eggan and others have kindly read this paper and have made suggestions for its improvement.

8: Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1955
NQ17 Mandan NQ17



themselves in one of these communities located on an isolated segment of the reservation between the Missouri and the Little Missouri rivers. The village is called Lone Hill by the Indian people. In 1951, Lone Hill had a total Indian population of 267 individuals forming 48 nuclear families.

## THE PROBLEM

In the summer of 1951 and continuing in 1952–53, I studied social and cultural change in Lone Hill village. Starting with an investigation of kinship using the genealogical method I obtained kinship schedules essentially similar to those reported by Morgan (1871:291–382), Lowie (1917), and Bowers (1950, ms.) as characterizing the traditional Crow lineage system. It became apparent that for some members of Lone Hill, both old and young, the terminological system had not changed. While the majority of the schedules gathered in the village represented the Crow lineage system, this was not so for every case. A number of schedules were obtained with English terms and were directly comparable to the American type of system. Thus, within one community, I obtained two kinds of kinship patterns, the first aboriginal Indian and the second modern near-white.

This extreme variation is not too surprising if one considers previous work on kinship change in other American Indian tribes which have had a comparable Crow lineage system. Spoehr (1947), comparing related tribes within the Southeastern area, found direct evidence of a complete series from a pure Crow type to a variant of an American generational system with intermediate forms showing a regular pattern of change. The Schmitts (n.d.), within one community of Wichita, found variations in kinship terminology which fitted into the latter part of Spoehr's more complete series. The direction of the Wichita data tends to validate Spoehr's conclusions—when a Crow system changes under modern acculturative influence, there is an increasing patrilineal emphasis, a shift from a lineal to a generational pattern in classification, and a diminishing importance of kinship in regulating social life.

The point to be stressed here is that the terminological systems gathered among the Indian people of Lone Hill village were either pure Crow or white generation types—both extremes without the intermediate variations. While a generational type kinship system is found among the Mandan-Hidatsa and in the cases reported upon by Spoehr and the Schmitts, the absence of intermediate variations in Lone Hill suggests a significant difference in the kind of acculturation taking place. This difference may be clarified by a description of the types of terminological systems found in Lone Hill, followed by an analysis of the mechanisms of kinship change.

## THE KINSHIP PATTERNS

Of the two terminological kinship patterns found in Lone Hill, the pure Crow type remains the operating functional system for the majority of the people of the village. Figure 1 is a diagram of the system in the Hidatsa language with English equivalents. The orthography follows Bowers (ms.).

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

# *Primary Group Experience and the Processes of Acculturation*[1]

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## INTRODUCTION

101 121 THE problem of this paper is to explain why some members of the Mandan-Hidatsa village of Lone Hill[2] become more acculturated than others. Our particular thesis is that the differences in degree of acculturation found among the Indian people are in large measure a product of early experience in the intimate family group, and the cultural orientation of their parents or their surrogates.

177 121 There are striking differences in extent of acculturation in Lone Hill. They are manifest in type of home, education, subsistence, speech, and manner, and would be readily apparent even to the most casual observer. In a previous paper it has been shown that some families in Lone Hill follow the Crow lineage kinship system and Indian values while others have adopted the American kinship and value systems (Bruner 1955). A former superintendent of the Agency, who is also a trained social scientist, has written, " . . . there is at Fort Berthold every degree of acculturation, from the family living on the reservation in the hoe culture age of the original village life to a few well-to-do ranchers with nearly every modern convenience in their homes" (Riefel 1952:125). Our purpose in this paper is not to describe these differences in acculturation in any detail, nor is it to correlate them with a check list of unweighted factors; it is rather to delineate the process by which they arise in the family situation and to analyze the larger social context in which they occur.

## HISTORY AND METHOD

Any study of acculturation is facilitated to the extent that a means can be established to control comparisons (Eggan 1954); in this paper the control stems from comparison of group differences within one village (cf. Spindler 1955; Rapoport 1954). The criteria for segmenting the population according to degree of acculturation will be based upon differential participation in contemporary reservation culture and not upon the presence or absence of aboriginal Indian or white traits. The people of Lone Hill live in a culture that has emerged from the aboriginal culture of their ancestors and has borrowed from local white, mass American, and pan-Indian cultures.

177 175 The Upper Missouri River Valley was the scene of turbulent changes during the past 200 years. Within this period the horse was introduced, many white men came and with them trade, numerous manufactured goods, devastating plagues of smallpox, the arrival of white homesteaders, the development of surrounding towns, and deliberate attempts by missionaries and other members of a superordinate majority to change a subordinate Indian minority, including the efforts of the military and of the Indian Bureau. An

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
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177 selves, their children, and their culture. The presence of the American gener tional kinship system and other cultural changes in Lone Hill (Bruner 195 were the result of conscious efforts by individuals to bring about these chang through their children.

3. The remaining ten families have had a white model; three follow th unacculturated life pattern, and seven marginal families periodically shi their residence from Indian to white society. The marginal families are b cultural; they have a dual model of the universe situationally defined.

Given the total situation as it exists in Lone Hill, early experience in th nuclear family is decisive in the acculturative process. We may even hazar the guess that unless there is a major change in the total milieu, acculturatio in Lone Hill will continue to be dependent upon social learning in small famil groups.

## NOTES

000 [1] An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 53rd meeting of the American Anthr pological Association held in Detroit, December, 1954. The Department of Anthropology of th University of Chicago and a Social Science Research Council pre-doctoral fellowship provide financial support for field work. Elaine-Carol Bruner, Donald T. Campbell, Dorothy Eggan Fred Eggan, Omar K. Moore, George P. Murdock, Robert Redfield, Sol Tax, Sherry Washburn and especially two fellow fieldworkers, Robert Merrill and Robert Reits, have generously offere suggestions at various stages of this work. Their cumulative aid has indeed been considerable.

101 [2] Lone Hill is the Indian name for the community. Names of all informants mentioned in thi paper are pseudonyms.

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# LIFE AMONG THE MANDANS AND GROS VENTRES EIGHTY YEARS AGO.

## AS DESCRIBED BY A PARTNER OF THE NORTH WEST COMPANY.

101 175 The Mandans were unknown to white men, until they were visited by the Sons of Sieur Veranderie, who reached the Missouri, by way of the Mouse river, and, in January, 1743, discovered the Rocky mountains. The Jesuit Coquard, who had accompanied the Veranderies in some of their expeditions, writes that they first met the Mantanes, and next the Brochets. After these, were the Gros Ventres, the Crows, the Flat Heads, the Black Feet and Dog Feet, who were established on the Missouri, even up to the Falls, and about thirty leagues beyond they found a narrow pass in the mountains.

114 After the organization of the North-west Company of Montreal, English traders came from the Assinaboine river, to trade with the tribes of the Missouri. The compiler of this article has in his possession a copy of the unpublished journal of Alexander Henry, a partner of the North-west Company, which contains the following account of what he knows of the condition, position and customs of the Mandans at the beginning of the present century, and extracts from which are worthy of preservation for the use of the antiquarian and ethnologist.

On the 7th of July, 1806, Henry left the post of the North-west Company at the junction of the Pembina with the Red River of the North, and on the 12th he arrived at the establishments of Riviere la Souris (Mouse river), on the south side of the Assinaboine river. A Hudson Bay Company post was on the north side, where a North-west Company post was once situated. He found the Hudson Bay Company's people very busy in making hair lines which are used to fetter horses. He writes: "The hair which they commonly make use of, is that which the buffalo has between the horns, which is sometimes upward of a foot long. They also make use of the horse hair for that purpose, which is much stronger."

The post near the Mouse River of the North West Company was in charge of F. A. LaRocque. On Monday the 14th of July the expedition left for the Missouri, consisting of Henry, Allan McDonald, T. Viandvia, Joseph Du Charme, and Hugh McCracken, * the guide an old Irishman who had once been a soldier in the British artillery. McCracken was the per-

* Lewis and Clarke found McCracken in 1804 at the Mandan Village where they wintered. In an account of their expedition published in *Harper's Family Library*, vol. 1, page 125, under date of November 1, 1804, is the following: "Mr. McCracken the trader whom we found here set out to-day on his return to the British fort and factory on the Assiniboin River, about one hundred and fifty miles from this place."